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5 The demonstrative pronouns in Old and Middle Irish

1 Introduction

The distinction between stressed and enclitic demonstratives is fundamental. In modern editions enclitic forms are usually printed with a preceding hyphen, this convention being most frequently observed in the case of the *notae augentes*, which are always enclitic, e.g. *baitsim-se* ‘I baptise’, *ad-cobra-som* ‘he desires’.¹ Unfortunately, however, the distinction is hardly ever observed in the case of the demonstratives, which, unlike the *notae augentes*, have both stressed and enclitic forms, which are not consistently differentiated in writing. As Old and Middle orthography does not, for example, regularly mark the long vowels in the stressed forms *só* and *sé* with a length-mark, or separate stressed *sin* from the preceding word by a space, as opposed to writing enclitic *-sin* as part of the preceding word,² the most reliable criterion left to us is metrical evidence. Accordingly, most of the examples which follow are taken from Old and Middle Irish verse.³ Much of what is established here regarding the earlier language applies also to Classical Modern Irish, the rules for which are set out by McManus in McManus (1994: 431–432, §§ 9.4–9.5), although the system there is further complicated by the approximation in form of the third singular masculine and third plural *nota augens*, *-s(e)an*, with the enclitic demonstrative, *-s(a)in*.⁴

1 The examples are taken from GOI § 403. See also Griffith (2008).

2 For word-division see GOI § 34. In Breatnach (2003) I showed that the stressed forms of the demonstrative meaning ‘this’, previously believed to be *so*, *se*, with short vowels, are in fact *só* and *sé*, with long vowels, and thus more differentiated from the enclitic forms than had been thought.

3 Where necessary, I silently introduce hyphens before enclitic forms, and separate stressed forms from what precedes.

4 They differ of course in the quality of the final *-n*; nevertheless the superficial resemblance of these two forms in Classical Modern Irish may have contributed to uncertainty as to whether a particular case of *sin* in an Old or Middle Irish text was enclitic or stressed. The replacement of the *-m* in *-som* by *-n* had begun in the late Middle Irish period; a few examples from the Book of Leinster are given in Breatnach (1994a: 264 § 10.2), where *dóib-sin* (LL line 8367), is a misinterpretation of *dóibsin* of the diplomatic edition; this should be read as *dóib sin*, with the stressed demonstrative.

Taking the enclitic demonstratives first, a few metrical examples will suffice to establish their prosodic status. They are all taken from the *Féilire Óengusso*, a text which can be closely dated to c.800 AD.⁵ The metre of this substantial text of 591 quatrains is *Rinnard*, with obligatory rhyme between the finals of the second and fourth lines, six syllables in every line, and each line ending in a disyllable. This last requirement guarantees the enclitic status of *-sin* in the example cited (rhyming parts are bolded):⁶

- (1) *Paiss Eutaicc la Fintan*
*Maeldub, mór a **ngáir-sin**,*
*caíngrían ocont **sléib-sin**,*
*dend Eoganacht **áin-sin**.*

‘The passion of Eutychius, with Fintan Maeldub—great is that shout!—the fair sun at that mountain, of those splendid Children of Eogan.’ (Stokes 1905: verse for 20 Oct.)

The enclitic status of *-sa* ‘this’ is confirmed not only by the disyllabic ending in the third and fourth lines, but also by the rhyme of *slóg-sa*, with the demonstrative, and *tróg-sa*, with the *nota augens* in:⁷

- (2) *Dom-rorbae domm théti,*
*ol am triamain **tróg-sa**,*
iar timnaib ind ríg-sa
*rith ro ráith in **slóg-sa**.*

‘May it profit me for my comfort, for I am a wretched weary one, the course which this host has run according to the commandments of this King!’ (Stokes 1905: Prologue 25)

Similarly in the case of *-se*, the variant after a palatal consonant, we have the demonstrative in the third and fourth lines, and the *nota augens* in the second line in:

⁵ Cf. Breatnach (1996: 74–75).

⁶ As well as further instances in the verses for 20 Jun., 2 Aug., 12 Oct., 16 Oct. and at Epilogue 29.

⁷ Note also the *aicill* rhyme between *in tráth-sa* ‘at this time’, with demonstrative, and *ro gád-sa* ‘I have prayed’, with *nota augens* (Stokes 1905: Epilogue 411–412).

- (3) *Á Dé móir not guidiu,
cluinte mo chneit trúaig-se,
ro beó iarsin báig-se
i mbithgnáis int slúaig-se!*
‘O great God, I entreat Thee, hear my wretched sigh! May I be after this
battle in the everlasting company of this host.’ (Stokes 1905: Epilogue 313)

The only variation is phonological, either contextual, viz. assimilation of the *s-* to the quality of the preceding consonant, or historical, viz. *-so* > *-sa*. Otherwise, the same form can be attached to a noun in any case or number preceded by the article.

2 Stressed demonstratives and their flexion in Old and Middle Irish

In these, there is a degree of variation in the forms. I will take the forms and range of use of *sin*, and of *só/sé*, where the referent is inanimate, and then instances of both of these with animate referents.

As for the demonstrative pronoun for ‘that’, apart from whether or not *in* precedes it, and the rare variant *sen*, there is no variation in its form for case inflexion, that is, it is always spelled (*in*) *sin*, and the final *-n* is palatalised, as shown by the rhyming examples below. All the Old Irish examples of the rare variant *sen* cited in DIL (S 231.8) are singular, and are from the tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal, viz. one instance as the subject of the copula, *in sen* ‘that’ (Thes. 2: 253.16) and two instances after prepositions, *for sen* ‘thereafter’ (Thes. 2: 252.14) and *hō sen sūas* ‘from that upwards’ (Thes. 2: 255.7). In Middle Irish, on the other hand, the form varies between *sin*, *sein*, and *sain*, with some rare instances of *sen*; see Breatnach (1994a: 275 § 10.24).⁸

⁸ A reader adds an example from the Southampton Psalter: *linn in sen oc Hiurusalem* ‘that [is] a pool at Jerusalem’ (Ó Néill 2012: LXIII no. 12). The same gloss also has enclitic *-sen* in *esin lind-sen* ‘in that pool’.

2.1 Nominative

While verbal endings and copula forms allow for distinction between nominative singular and plural to be expressed, nevertheless, examples of the plural are very rare in Old Irish, only becoming well attested in Middle Irish. Most of the examples I have of the nominative plural have animate referents, for which see further below in section 4.⁹

An example as the singular subject of a (passive) verb is (here and below, all relevant demonstratives are glossed in bold; if only part of the example is glossed, the translation of the glossed part is underlined):¹⁰

- (4) *Gabthae tí chorcræ imund ríg*
lasa senad co ndimbríg
ba do genuch fo-cres sin,
*be_{3SG.PRET} for mockery_{DAT} PV.put_{3SG.PRET.PASS} **that_{NOM}***
níbu dúthracht a chumtaig.
 ‘A purple cloak was put about the King by the ignoble assembly; in mockery that was put about him, not from a desire to cover him.’ (Blathm. verse 52)

A Late Old Irish/Early Middle Irish instance with an intransitive verb is:

- (5) *Lethbairgen 7 ordu ēisc 7 lind in topair do-rat Dīa dam.*
dom-fic sin cach dīa
*PV-1SG.come_{3SG.PRES} **that_{NOM}** every_{GEN.SG.MASC} day_{GEN}*
ol sē trīa thimthirecht aingel
 “‘Half a loaf and a morsel of fish and the liquor of the well, God has given me. That comes to me every day”, said he, “by the service of angels.” (LU line 1846 [hand H]; author’s trans.)¹¹

⁹ A reader notes two examples with an inanimate referent, viz. *it he riaglóri in sin adchomlartar fri epacta* ‘those are the regulars which are added to epacts’ (Thes. 2: 17 [Carlsruhe Bede 32^a8]), and, in *Scél Mongáin: Batar hé sin a imthechta* ‘These were his adventures’ (White 2006: 76, 82).

¹⁰ Further examples with a passive verb are in Blathm. (verse 245), and, in prose, Binchy (1962: 60 § 12), and Gwynn (1914: 166.13).

¹¹ From *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin*; the translation deviates slightly from that in Oskamp (1970: 139).

A Middle Irish instance with a transitive verb is:

- (6) *ar nis fil do plaig nó dunibad for bith*
nachus bera sin for culu.
 NEG-3PL·bring_{3SG.PRES.SUBJ} **that**_{NOM} upon back_{ACC.PL}
 ‘For there is no plague or mortality on earth which that would not repel.’
 (Stokes 1891: 430–431 § 21)

An Old Irish example with the copula is:¹²

- (7) *Is ed trā in sin amnin*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} it then the_{NOM.SG} **that**_{NOM} indeed
nī mēte nī thormassid
ēcosc ñ-aīmin airm hī tā
tegdassa ad-chondarc-sa
 ‘That then is indeed—no doubt you can solve it (viz. the riddle)—the lovely form, where it is, of the house which I have seen.’ (Thes. 2: 292 verse 8; author’s trans.)¹³

2.2 Accusative

When the demonstrative (whether *sin* or *sé*) is the object of a verb, the verb may be accompanied by an infixed pronoun; see GOI (§ 478) for examples. This is only attested in the singular, and with a neuter pronoun. While masculine or feminine singular, as well as plural infixed pronouns with *só* and *sin* might theoretically be conceivable, none are attested. The instances with a neuter pronoun may, then, be a special case.

Examples of the accusative are:¹⁴

- (8) *Cenél do-rigni in sin*
 race_{NOM} PV·do_{AUG.3SG.PRET} the_{ACC.SG} **that**_{ACC}

¹² Cf. also the example in verse in Thes. 2: 290.14.

¹³ For the second line see Breatnach (1983). The poem from which the example is taken has been re-edited with translation and notes by Ahlqvist (2018).

¹⁴ A further metrical example is in Thes. 2: 294.13. A reader notes also examples of the asg. of *sin* as the object of comparison after equatives in the Old Irish Glosses, viz. *sic bith suthainidir sin ainm Solmon*, ‘even so lasting will be the name of Solomon’ (ML. 90^b10), and the instances in ML. 36^c21, 57^c12, 75^b7 and 131^d12 (all with *sin*).

*atá foraiḃ orbbadail;
is ainces ngalair cen tráig
a mbith cen flaith fo bithphláig.*

‘The race who did that suffer dispersal of heritage; their being without a kingdom under eternal plague is a sickly undiminishing misery.’ (Blathm. verse 117)

- (9) *Cenid relcset Iudei sin,*
though-NEG-3SG_{NEUT}·suffer_{AUG.3PL.PRET} Jew_{NOM.PL} **that**_{ACC}
coíniud Críst dia sainmuintir,
nem cona airbrib—trén dú!—
ro-coínset uili Ísu.

‘Though the Jews did not suffer that Christ should be mourned by his own people, Heaven (strong place!) and its hosts, all mourned Jesus.’ (Blathm. verse 128)

Examples from Middle Irish texts are:

- (10) *Ro airigestar Marggíni gilla Óchinn sein*
AUG-observe_{3SG.PRET} Margíne_{NOM} servant_{NOM} Óchinn_{GEN} **that**_{ACC}
‘Margíne, the servant of Óchinn observed that.’ (LL line 21149 [*Prose Dindsenchas*]; author’s trans.)

A probable instance of the plural is:¹⁵

- (11) *do-ratsat sain uile n-óg*
PV·give_{3PL.PRET} **that**_{ACC} all_{NOM.SG.NEUT} ^{NAS}complete_{NOM.SG.NEUT}
buidni Banba cen bithbrón
‘The hosts of Banba, free from enduring sorrow, gave all these completely [as pledges].’ (LL line 25233; trans. MD 3: 11)¹⁶

¹⁵ The preceding two verses consist of a list of what was given in pledge, e.g. *Eich claidib . . . gaí scēith* ‘horses, swords, spears, shields’, and it seems unlikely that these are being referred to collectively by a singular *sain*.

¹⁶ I take *uile n-óg* as an adverb (lit. ‘completely and entirely’), which probably goes back to an Old Irish neuter substantive *uile* followed by the nasalised adjective (lit. ‘the complete whole’). A further Middle Irish example is *De sin ro ort uile n-óg. / ind ēnlaith olc ealmór* (LL line 20219), translated ‘Thereupon he slew them all entirely, the evil formidable fowls’, in MD 3: 259.

2.3 Prepositions

GOI (§ 480) notes that

any of the pronouns of §§ 478, 479 may be used after a conjugated preposition which is introduced by the copula. Examples: *is dó in so* ‘it is for this’ (Wb. 27d20); *is airi in sin* ‘it is therefore’ (Sg. 213a1); and often *is samlid in sin* or *sin* ‘it is like that’ [. . .] But where there is no periphrasis, such combinations are still rare – e.g. *fuirí sídī* (instead of *for suidī*) (Sg. 199a5), *ant sin* (for *i-sin*) (Ml. 356a1) – although later they become common.¹⁷

There are, then, two types:

- (a) Simple preposition + stressed *sin*, e.g. *ar sin*, *fri sin*, *iar sin*.
- (b) Prepositional pronoun + *sin*, e.g. *and sin*.

A metrical example of (a) is:

- (12) *ba sruith gruad ro ruid i sin,*
 COP_{3SG.PRET} venerable_{NOM.SG.NEUT} cheek_{NOM.} AUG-redden_{3SG.PRET} in **that**_{DAT}
fri náimteá co n-aithisib.
 ‘Venerable was the cheek that reddened thereat, facing insulting ene-
 mies.’ (Blathm. verse 122)¹⁸

The fact that there are no distinctive plural forms for either *sin* or *só* means that type (a) can only be singular.

While plural forms of type (b), such as *díb sin*, are well attested in Middle Irish, I have so far found no example in any early Old Irish text. The earliest example of this type I have is from the late Old Irish text *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin*: *Bá leis trá búaid cech cluchi díb sin* (LU line 1671 [hand M]), ‘He then was the winner in every one of those games’, although even this is in a manuscript of the Middle Irish period, and is not confirmed metrically.

In this type also, the demonstrative was stressed. All the metrically confirmed examples I have are Middle Irish. It bears repeating, however, that modern editions are inconsistent in distinguishing stressed forms from enclitics.

Examples with the singular are (the second part of the rhyming pair in 14 and 15 is in square brackets here and elsewhere):¹⁹

¹⁷ A reader notes also the prepositionless dative *sin* as the object of comparison after comparatives, e.g. *nand máa sin a bríg* ‘that it is of no more account than that’, Sg. 150^b1, sim. 150^b5.

¹⁸ I take the word-division in the edition (*ro-ruidi sin*) to be a slip.

¹⁹ Both the position of *sin*, etc. at the end of a line, and *rind ocus airdrind* rhyme confirm that in every one of these examples we have to do with a separate stressed word.

- (13) *dena lágrib tuctha and sin.*
 from-the_{DAT.PL} spear_{DAT.PL} bring_{3PL.PRET.PASS} in_{3SG.NEUT.DAT} **that**_{DAT}
dē atát Lagin for Lagnib

‘From the spears that were brought in that time, hence the Lagin are so called.’

(LL lines 21057–21058 [*Prose Dindsenchas*]; author’s trans.)

- (14) a. *and sin* [: *mōrneim*] (LL line 26995 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])
 b. *and sin* [: *míliad*] (LL line 25712 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])
 c. *and sain* [: *Alpain*] (LL line 27837 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])

- (15) *coistid riss sein* [: *Taltein*]
 listen_{2PL.IMPV} to_{3SG.NEUT.ACC} **that**_{ACC}
 ‘Listen to that!’ (LL line 27775 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])

Examples with the plural are:²⁰

- (16) a. *Nochor bruthi bir díb sein.*
 NEG-AUG-cook_{3SG.PRET.PASS} spit_{NOM} from_{3PL} **that**_{DAT}
in tráth tucait ón tenid
 ‘Not a spit of those was cooked, when they were taken from the fire.’
 (LL line 29245; author’s trans.)²¹
 b. *ní díb sein* [: *tromneim*]
 something from_{3PL} **that**_{DAT}
 ‘any one of those things’ (LL line 26846 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])

2.4 Genitive

Unlike the other cases of the demonstrative pronoun, the genitive will have a noun preceding it, and this noun is usually preceded by a possessive pronoun, coreferential with the demonstrative, i.e. of the type *a fíus sin* (Wb. 10^b27), ‘knowledge of that’, and the demonstrative is stressed.²² A careful distinction

²⁰ Further examples, with animate referents, are cited below.

²¹ The edition prints *díbsein*, as one word.

²² A reader notes instances in the Milan Glosses without a possessive in the case of the nominal prepositions *i ndiad* and *i ndigaid* ‘after’ (GOI §§ 858, 859), viz. *indiadsin*, 65^a12 (glossing *proinde*), 75^c8 (glossing *proinde*), 96^b13 (glossing *hinc*), *indiadsin*, 20^b4 (glossing *sed etiam*; sic manuscript, but emended to *innadiadsin*, Thes. 2: 29), and *indigaidsin*, 71^b11 (glossing *proinde*).

must then be made between two syntagms in which a demonstrative follows a noun, viz. the type *in lebor-sin* ‘that book’, with preceding article and enclitic adjectival demonstrative, and the type *a lebor sin* ‘the book of that one’, with preceding possessive pronoun and following stressed demonstrative pronoun.

The only metrically confirmed example I have so far from an Old Irish text is with *sé*, cited below in (43). Nevertheless, another indication that the demonstrative is stressed is that the form with *in* can be found in this position, as in the following passage from the Old Irish Glossing of *Senchas Már*:²³

- (17) *Somuīne bech .i. lestur lulaice, ian oil lān di mellit 7 dā thartīne dec,*
a lleth in sin ar lestar colpthaige,
 her^{GEM} half^{NOM} the^{GEN.SG} **that**^{GEN} for hive^{ACC} two.year.old.heifer^{GEN}
a trian ar lestar ndairte
 ‘Interest on bees, i.e. for a milch-cow hive, a pail of an *ól*-measure full of hydromel, and twelve small loaves; half of that for a two-year-old-heifer hive; a third of it for a yearling-heifer hive.’ (CIH 920.32; author’s trans.)²⁴

Similarly, the interposition of *ám dóib-sium* and *dam-sa* shows that *sain* is a separate stressed word in these two Middle Irish examples:

- (18) *Fail a mórabba ám dóib-sium sain*
 be^{3SG.PRES} its great.cause^{ACC} indeed to^{3PL=3PL} **that**^{GEN}
 ‘They have indeed good cause for that.’ (LL line 12066 [*Táin Bó Cúailnge*]; author’s trans.)
- (19) *Fail a mōrabba dam-sa sain*
 be^{3SG.PRES} its great.cause^{ACC} to^{1SG=1SG} **that**^{GEN}
 ‘I have good cause for that.’ (LL line 22899 [*Cath Ruis na Ríg*]; author’s trans.)

Metrically confirmed examples, however, are plentiful in Middle Irish; cf.:

- (20) *At-chūala co ngili gné.*
dā dam Dile derscaigthe.

²³ For this text see Breatnach (2005: 338–346).

²⁴ For the units of measurement used here see Kelly (1997: 578–580), and for *mellit* ‘hydromel’ (1997: 113).

Fe 7 Men fria ngairm sein
 Fe_{NOM} and Men_{NOM} to-their^{NAS} calling_{ACC} **that**_{GEN}
ō fail ainm ar Maig Fēmin

‘I have heard of the two oxen of Dil, radiant of beauty, conspicuous; Fe and Men are they called, whence Mag Fēmin gets its name.’ (LL lines 27259–27262; trans. MD 3: 199)

- (21) *rap ferr lēo nā [a] silliuð sain*
 AUG-COP_{3SG.PRET}^{LEN} better with_{3PL} than her looking_{NOM} **that**_{GEN}
a tabairt bēo fon talmāin
 their putting_{NOM} alive_{NOM.SG} under-the_{ACC.SG.MASC} earth_{ACC}
 ‘Sooner than look upon her they had chosen to be buried under earth alive.’ (LL line 29927; trans. MD 4: 141)²⁵

- (22) *a mac samla sain [: gēnair]*
 his son_{NOM} likeness_{GEN} **that**_{GEN}
 ‘his match’ (SR line 5367; author’s trans.)

- (23) *Is fō samla sain sunna*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} under-her likeness_{ACC} **that**_{GEN} here
 ‘It was after her likeness in this place.’ (LL line 21473; author’s trans.)²⁶

3 The demonstrative *só*, *sé*, in Old and Middle Irish

As in the case of *sin*, both *só* and *sé* can be preceded by *in* (GOI § 478), but unlike *sin*, one of the variants is correlated with case inflexion. For some comments on the apparently free variation between *sé* and *só*, see Stifter (2015: 93–94).²⁷ The form *síu*, however, is found only in the dative, either with prepositions or as an independent dative.

²⁵ I supply in brackets the *a* found in two other copies (cf. MD 4: 141).

²⁶ The diplomatic edition prints *samlasain*, while MD 1: 10.61 reads *fon samla-sin*, with the article rather than the possessive and enclitic *-sin*, in spite of the internal rhyme with *calma* in the following line.

²⁷ On *sé* in the poems of Blathmac, see also Uhlich (2018: 64–67).

3.1 Nominative

Examples of *in sé*, *sé* and *só*, respectively, as the subject of a (passive) verb are:

- (24) *Is cian do-rairngred in sē*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} long_{NOM.SG.NEUT} PV·prophesy_{AUG.3SG.PRET.PASS} the_{NOM.SG} this_{NOM}
no mbíthe int áuagaire.
 ‘Long has this been prophesied: that the shepherd would be struck down.’
 (Blathm. verse 127)

- (25) *ro-comallnad uile sē*
 AUG·fulfill_{3SG.PRET.PASS} all_{NOM.SG.NEUT} **this**_{NOM}
inge mod a thuidechtae.
 ‘All this has been fulfilled save the act of his [second] coming.’
 (Blathm. verse 233)

Another example is found in the late Old Irish *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin*:

- (26) *In dún-ni fo-rrácbad sō*
 INT-COP_{3SG.PRES}· for_{1PL=1PL} PV·leave_{AUG.3SG.PRET.PASS} **this**_{NOM}
ol Máel Dúin frisín cat
 ‘“Is it for us that this was left?”, said Máel Dúin to the cat.’ (LU line 1714
 [hand M]; author’s trans.)

Early examples with the copula are:²⁸

- (27) *Ní réid la céill mbuirp*
 NEG-COP_{3SG.PRES} easy_{NOM.SG.NEUT} with sense_{ACC} ^{NAS}uncouth_{ACC.SG.FEM}
in sē.
 the_{NOM.SG} **this**_{NOM}
 ‘This is not easy to the uncouth intelligence.’ (Blathm. verse 159)²⁹

²⁸ A reader notes further examples in copula sentences in the OIr Glosses, viz. ML 24^c4, 61^b7, 70^c6, 104^a4, 122^c9, 130^a16; Sg. 203^a16 (all with *it hé in sō*); ML 86^c3, 115^c1 (both with *it hé in sē*); Sg. 4^b12 (with *it hé sē*); Carlsruhe Bede 32^c8 (Thes. 2: 19, with *it . . . in sō*); Sg. 104^b1, 148^b12 (both *in sō*, with zero copula).

²⁹ Further examples with *in sé* are in Blathm. verses 187 and 237.

- (28) *reic Críst, ba drohcundrad sē.*
 selling_{NOM} Christ_{GEN} COP_{3SG.PRET} bad.contract_{NOM.SG} **this**_{NOM}
 ‘selling Christ!—an evil bargain this’ (Blathm. verse 108)³⁰

- (29) *Níbu for talam a dú;
 anní as fíriu
 iss ed a ngein cruchae in sō
 COP_{3SG.PRES} it the_{NOM.SG.NEUT} NAS_{birth}_{NOM} cross_{GEN} the_{NOM.SG} **this**_{NOM}
 ro buí re ndíliu.*
 ‘The earth is not the proper place for him: rather is this the being destined
for the cross who has been before the Flood.’ (IrGospThomas verse. 33)³¹

Another example is found in the late Old Irish *Immram Curaig Máele Dúin*:

- (30) *immafoacht dó cía mulend sō*
 PV-3SG_{MASC}·ask_{3SG.PRET} to_{3SG.MASC} what mill_{NOM} **this**_{NOM}
 ‘He asked him “what mill is this?”’ (LU line 1757 [hand M]; author’s trans.)

Two examples of the plural are:

- (31) *Derb batar é gnímae sē*
 certain_{NOM.SG.NEUT} COP_{3PL.PRET} they deed_{NOM.PL} **this**_{NOM.PL}
do maic máir maiss, a Maire.
 ‘It is certain that these were the deeds of your great beautiful son, Mary.’
 (Blathm. verse 41)

- (32) *IT ē in sō danō freptai inna*
 COP_{3PL.PRES} they the_{NOM.PL} **this**_{NOM.PL} also remedy_{NOM.PL} the_{GEN.SG.FEM.}
santi . . .
 avarice_{GEN}
 ‘These again are the remedies against avarice . . .’, (Gwynn 1914: 154–155, § 1e)

³⁰ Further examples with *sē* are in Blathm. verses 20, 140 and 208.

³¹ A further example with *in só* is in Gwynn (1914: 166.7).

3.2 Accusative

Examples of the accusative as object of a verb are:

- (33) *In fer ad-chuäid in sē*
 the_{NOM.SG.MASC} man_{NOM.SG} PV·^{LEN}relate_{AUG.3SG.PRET} the_{ACC.SG} **this**_{ACC}
is oen a thecht torise.
 ‘The one who has related this is one of his faithful messengers.’ (Blathm. verse 225)

- (34) *‘Már huath’, ol in tuath,*
‘do mac do-gní sē;
 your son_{NOM} PV·do_{3SG.PRES} this_{ACC}
nícon cualamar co sō
nach macán am-nē.’
 “A great terror”, said the people, “is your son who does this thing; until now we never heard of any such little boy.” (IrGospThomas verse 18)³²

- (35) *as-ber nícon dergēnus in sō nó a*
 PV·say_{3SG.PRES} NEG·do_{AUG.1SG.PRET} the_{ACC.SG} **this**_{ACC} or the_{ACC.SG.NEUT}
n-í aill.
 one other_{ACC.SG.NEUT}
 ‘who says: “I did not do this or that.”’ (Gwynn 1914: 160–161 § 23)

- (36) Late Old Irish
is airi do-gníu-sa sō. . .
 COP_{3SG.PRES} for_{3SG.NEUT.ACC} PV·do_{1SG.PRES=1SG} **this**_{ACC}
 ‘the reason I do this is. . .’ (LU line 1930, hand H [*Immram Curaig Máele Dúin*]; author’s trans.)

3.3 Prepositions

The situation regarding the demonstrative meaning ‘this’ is somewhat different to that of *sin* (above in subsection 2.3). The second type, prepositional pronoun +

³² A further example with *sé* is in IrGospThomas verse 44.

stressed demonstrative, seems to be rare, and the only example I have from an Old Irish text is in the Old Irish Glossing of *Senchas Már*:

- (37) *Is airi sō*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} **for**_{3SG.NEUT.ACC} **this**_{ACC}
nī tiagat dāla huīne i n-aile acht fri dīthim. . .
 ‘It is for this reason that matters proper to distraint with a stay of one day do not merge with those proper to distraint with a stay of two days, except in the case of delay in pound.’ (CIH 885.5; author’s trans.)³³

Even in the plural, forms such as *dīb sō* (CIH 1662.36, 1701.20 [sic leg.]) ‘of these’ do not appear to be attested in manuscripts of the Middle Irish period.³⁴

As for the first type, viz. simple preposition + stressed demonstrative, a distinction is made between accusative *sé*, as in *ar sé*, *fri sé*, etc., and dative *síu*, as in *iar síu*, *de síu*. An early rhyming example of the accusative form is *co sē* [: *gnē*] (LU lines 4576–4577) ‘up to this’ (*Táin Bó Cúailnge*).³⁵ As for the dative form, the long diphthong *íu* is confirmed by *úaitne* ‘consonance’ with *céo* and *mbéo* in:³⁶

- (38) *Rom-śnádat de síu*
 AUG-1SG·^{LEN} protect_{3PL.PRES.SUBJ} **from** ^{LEN} **this**_{DAT}
ar demnaib na céo,
céili Maic ind Ríg
a tírib na mbéo.
 ‘From here may they protect me against the fog-surrounded demons, these companions of the King’s Son from the lands of the living.’ (Murphy 1956: 26–27 verse 16)³⁷

³³ For the legal procedure in question here see Kelly (1988: 177–179).

³⁴ That is, MSS written before 1200. The majority of the examples with a prepositional pronoun given in DIL (S 307.5–17) are from Early Modern Irish texts.

³⁵ Further examples are given in Breatnach (2003: 138). Contrast *co sō* in verse 18 of the *Irish Gospel of Thomas* cited just above.

³⁶ Cf. also *síu* ‘here’, without a preceding preposition, making *úaitne* with *dó* : *fó* (LL lines 4816–4819), in the poem *Fothairt for trebaib Con Corb*, as well as the spelling *de síu* (LU line 1731 [hand M]), ‘from this side’.

³⁷ In the citation I have removed the hyphen in Murphy’s *de-síu*, to emphasise that *síu* is not enclitic.

A further variation is that *sund* can be used in place of *síu* in the dative singular, as in the following selection of examples from *Senchas Már*:

- (39) *Is i sund*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} **in this**_{DAT}
con-árrachta in dá recht.
 ‘It is in this that the two laws have been bound together.’ (Breatnach 2017a: 32–33 § 30)
- (40) *Is for sund*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} **on this**_{DAT}
ro suidigthea bechbretha la Féniu
 ‘It is on this that bee-judgments have been established in Irish law.’
 (Charles-Edwards and Kelly 1983: 88–89 § 55)
- (41) *Is for sund*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} **on this**_{DAT}
ro suidiged coibnius uisci t[h]airidne la Féniu.
 ‘It is on the foregoing [rules] that the kinship of conducted water has been established in Irish law’ (Binchy 1955: 72–73 § 15).
- (42) *conid-n-oiscfe di sunn.*
 PV-3SG_{MASC.} ^{NAS}alter_{3SG.FUT} **from this**_{DAT}
 ‘he who shall alter it from this’ (Binchy 1966: 46–47 § 37).

This type became rare in Middle Irish; thus, for example, the only instance I have from the extensive body of verse that comprises the metrical *Dindsenchas* is *ō sun immach* (LL line 26633 [MD 3: 152.4]).

3.4 Genitive

Although examples have not been easy to come by, the following Old Irish instance has, as in the case of *sin*, a possessive pronoun coreferential with

the demonstrative. Its position at the end of a line, and the *rind ocus airdrind* rhyme confirm that we have to do with a separate stressed word *sé*:

- (43) *Is ed a etarcnae sē*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} it its significance_{NOM} **this**_{GEN}
mac ron-ucais, a Maire,
bid flaith cen tosach—cain n-ell!—
ocus flaith cen nach forcenn.
 ‘This is what this signifies: the son you have borne, Mary, will be lord without beginning (fair time!) and lord without any end.’ (Blathm. verse 190)

3.5 Stressed *séo*

While enclitic *-seo* is attested from the Milan Glosses,³⁸ the stressed form *séo* is not attested in the Old Irish glosses. Some Middle Irish examples are:

- (44) *Cend Guill sēo at-chí im lāim*
 head_{NOM} Goll_{GEN} **this**_{NOM} PV.^{LEN}see_{2SG.PRES} in-my hand_{DAT}
a Lāech
 oh Láeg_{VOC}
 ‘This is the head of Goll which you see in my hand, o Láeg.’ (LL line 12726; author’s trans.)
- (45) *Rop hé sēo Druim nElgga n-oll*
 AUG=COP_{3SG.PRET} he **this**_{NOM} Druim^{NAS}Elgga^{NAS}great_{NOM.SG.NEUT}
 ‘This hill was known as great Druim Elga.’ (LL line 27297; trans. MD 4: 337)
- (46) *conid de sēo bias Uisnech*
 so.that-COP_{3SG.PRES} from **this**_{DAT} be_{3SG.FUT.REL} Uisnech_{NOM}
 ‘and hence shall Uisnech be named’ (LL line 27637; trans. MD 2: 45.44)

The evidence surveyed thus far indicates that the demonstratives *sé* / *só* and *sin* were usually singular in Old Irish, and accordingly that plural forms would be expressed by means of the deictic particle *í*, preceded by the article and followed by the demonstratives *sin* and *síu*, on which see further below.

³⁸ See GOI (§ 475) and Schrijver (1997b: 18).

4 Demonstratives with animate referents

According to Pedersen (1909–1913, 2: 186) the demonstratives *sin* and *sé*, etc., were only used with inanimate reference in Old Irish: “Die substantivischen Gruppen *in-so* (in Ml. auch *in-se* . . .) und *in-sin* haben nur neutrale Bedeutung (“dies”, “jenes”) [The substantive groups *in-so* (in Ml. also *in-se* . . .) and *in-sin* only have a neuter meaning (*dies* ‘this’ (neuter), *jenes* ‘that’ (neuter))].” While examples with inanimate referents are plentiful in Old Irish, there are nevertheless some instances with animate referents, although they are not very common. All those I have noted are as the subject of copula:

- (47) *conid ē epscop in sin*
 so.that-COP_{3SG.PRES} he bishop_{NOM} the_{NOM.SG} **that**_{NOM}
citaru oirtned la Laigniu.
 ‘so that he is the bishop who has been first consecrated in Leinster’ (Thes. 2: 241.15)

- (48) *Is é remibí bóairechaib in sin*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} he PV·BE_{3SG.PRES.HAB} bóaire_{DAT.PL} the_{NOM.SG} **that**_{NOM}
 ‘that is one who takes precedence over other *bóaires*’ (Binchy 1941: 10.248)³⁹

- (49) *Sích in suí Sacharias:*
‘Amrae mac in sō;
 wonderful_{NOM.SG.MASC} boy_{NOM} the_{NOM.SG} this_{NOM}
ma for-cantae bed amrae
fri sodain da-nō.’
 ‘Said the sage Zacharias: “This is a wonderful boy; were he to be taught he would be more wonderful still.”’ (IrGospThomas verse 22)

The referent can also be plural, as in:

- (50) *It ē mnā in sō*
 COP_{3PL.PRES} they woman_{NOM.PL} the_{NOM.PL} **this**_{NOM.PL}
nā dlegut lōg n-eneach

³⁹ From *Críth Gablach*; further examples, all with *in sin*, are at lines 280, 350, 448, 459, 475 and 593.

‘These are women who are not entitled to honour-price.’ (CIH 538.19 [Senchas Már]; author’s trans.)⁴⁰

4.1 Animate uses of *sin*

In Middle Irish, however, examples are much easier to come by, and in what follows I separate the examples of *sin* from those of *sé, só*.

4.1.1 Nominative singular *sin* as subject of copula

- (51) *‘Can don mnai?’ ar cāch.*
‘Māthair Branduib in sin’, ar Āedān.
 mother_{NOM} Brandub_{GEN} the_{NOM.SG} **that**_{NOM}
 “‘Whence is the woman?’, said all. “That is Brandub’s mother”, said Aedán.’
 (Meyer 1899: 135, 137 § 9)

- (52) *mac sin Bressail Bēlaich bind.*
 son_{NOM} **that**_{NOM} Bresal_{GEN} Belach_{GEN.SG.MASC} melodious_{GEN.SG.MASC}
 ‘The latter was the son of melodious Bresal Bēlach.’ (O’Brien 1952: 161, 167 verse 12c)

- (53) *Dúalderg ingen Mairge Móir,*
ben sein Smucailli meic Smóil,
 wife_{NOM} **that**_{NOM} Smucaille_{GEN} son_{GEN} Smól_{GEN}
 ‘Dúalderg, daughter of Marg the Great, she was the wife of Smucaille, son of Smól.’ (LL line 28898; trans. Ó Murchadha 2009: 23 verse 70)

4.1.2 *sin* as object of a transitive verb

- (54) *Fergus Lethderg ro slait sein [: anmain]*
 Fergus_{NOM} side.red_{NOM.SG.MASC} AUG·spoil_{3SG.PRET} **that**_{ACC}
 ‘It was Fergus Red-side that spoiled her.’ (LL line 29020; trans. MD 4: 251)

⁴⁰ Similarly, CIH 43.10.

- (55) *gabaid sin ol sē 7 berid a chend dē*
 take_{2PL.IMPV} **that**_{ACC} says he and bring_{2PL.IMPV} his_{LEN} head_{ACC} from_{3SG.MASC}
 “Take hold of that person,” said he, “and remove his head from him.”
 (Atkinson 1887: 643 [RIA MS 23 P 16 (Leabhar Breac) folio 9^a9]; author’s trans.)

4.1.3 Nominative plural *sin* as subject of copula

- (56) *Deich meic sin do Chathaір chrūaid*
 ten son_{NOM.PL} **that**_{NOM.PL} of_{LEN} Cathaір_{DAT} stern_{LEN}_{DAT.SG.MASC}
 ‘Those are the ten sons of stern Cathaір’ (LL line 26022; trans. MD 4: 285)

4.1.4 Nominative plural *sin* as subject of a passive verb

- (57) *Na torothair danō techtait dā chorp i n-óenaccommol*
deligfitir sin tall isind eséirgi
 separate_{3PL.FUT.PASS} **that**_{NOM.PL} beyond in-the_{DAT.SG.FEM} resurrection_{DAT}
 ‘The monsters also, that have two bodies in one union, they will be separated beyond in the Resurrection.’ (LU line 2562 [hand H] [*Scéla na Esérgi*]; trans. Stokes 1904: 239).
- (58) *cethri sessir garga a ngluind*
ro marbtha sin la Dreacuinn
 AUG·kill_{3PL.PRET.PASS} **that**_{NOM.PL} by Dreco_{ACC}
 ‘Four times six—fierce their deeds! these were slain by Dreco.’ (LL line 30502; trans. MD 4: 15)
- (59) *ro slechta na sechtaib sain*
 AUG·slaughter_{3PL.PRET.PASS} in-their seven_{DAT.PL} **that**_{NOM.PL}
 ‘They were slain in their sevens.’ (LL line 26094; trans. MD 3: 99)
- (60) *is dīa réir ra sēolta sain.*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} to-their will_{DAT} AUG·send_{3PL.PRET.PASS} **that**_{NOM.PL}
gēill na Éurpa co Crūachain
 ‘in express submission to them have been sent hostages from all Europe to Cruachu’ (LL lines 20690–20691; trans. MD 3: 348)

4.1.5 Nominative plural *sin* as subject of an intransitive verb

- (61) *Is aire condeochatar sin i*
 COP_{3SG.PRES} for_{3SG.NEUT.ACC} that·come_{3PL.PRET} **that**_{NOM.PL} in
comdāil Con Culaind
 meeting_{ACC.SG} Cú_{GEN} Culann_{GEN}
 ‘The reason they came to encounter Cú Chulainn was . . .’ (LL line 8796
 [*Táin Bó Cúailnge*]; author’s trans.)

- (62) *Ro scāchatar sin uile*
 AUG·depart_{3PL.PRET} **that**_{NOM.PL} all_{NOM.PL.MASC}
nocho mair díb òenduine ‘All those have departed; not a single one of
 them remains.’ (Meyer 1912: 218 verse 23)

4.1.6 Plural *sin* after a prepositional pronoun

- (63) *Cid ūadib sain no gairthe.*
 even from_{3PL} **that**_{DAT.PL} PV·call_{3SG.PRET.PASS}
eter slūagaib sāmaigthe
 ‘Even from them it was called among leaguered hosts.’ (LL lines
 25401–25402; trans. MD 3: 23)⁴¹

- (64) *rí díb sin [: Fēmin]*
 king_{NOM} of_{3PL} **that**_{DAT.PL}
 ‘a king of those’ (LL line 29807 [*Metrical Dindsenchas*])

- (65) *cid ataī dóib sin bēus*
 what PV·be_{2SG.PRES} to_{3PL} **that**_{DAT.PL} still
 ‘Why are you still angry with them?’ (LL line 8367; author’s trans.)

4.2 Animate uses of *sé/só*

I give next plural forms of *sé*, *só*; the singular forms are included in the final section of this paper.

⁴¹ The internal rhyme *ūadib* : *slūagaib* establishes that *sain* is a separate word.

4.2.1 Nominative plural *só* as subject of a transitive verb

- (66) *ar cech n-omgním gnīset sō*
 for every_{ACC.SG.MASC} ^{NAS}cruel.deed_{ACC} do_{3PL.PRET} **this**_{NOM.PL}
snīset a comlín chucco
 ‘For every cruel deed they did, they [the Tuatha Dé] inflicted the like number upon them.’ (LL line 25163; trans. MD 3: 5)

4.2.2 Nominative plural *sé/só* as subject of copula

- (67) *it íat in sō rīg na*
 COP_{3PL.PRES} they the_{NOM.PL} **this**_{NOM.PL} king_{NOM.PL} the_{GEN.PL.NEUT}
cóiced bātar acond feis-sin
 province_{GEN.PL} be_{3PL.PRET.REL} at-the_{DAT.SG.FEM} ^{LEN}feast_{DAT}=DIST
 ‘These are the provincial kings who were at that feast.’ (LL line 37651 [Bórama]; author’s trans.)

- (68) *Cōic rīg coīcat sáethra[i]ch sē*
 five king_{NOM.PL} fifty_{GEN} laborious_{NOM.PL.MASC} **this**_{NOM.PL}
do lāechraid na Crístaide
 ‘Five and fifty kings—laborious these!—of the warriorhood of Christendom’ (LL line 25209; trans. MD 3: 9)

4.2.3 Genitive plural *só*

Two examples of the genitive plural in Middle Irish commentary on *Senchas Már* are:

- (69) a. *7 fō coruib sō uili teacar*
 and under-their contract_{DAT.PL} **this**_{GEN.PL} all_{GEN.PL.MASC} come_{3SG.PRES.PASS}
 ‘And it is the contracts of all of these that are impugned.’ (CIH 1794.15; author’s trans.)
 b. *Tecur fō coruib sō sīs*
 come_{3SG.PRES.PASS} under-their contract_{DAT.PL} **this**_{GEN.PL} below
 ‘The contracts of all of these below are impugned.’ (CIH 1833.30; author’s trans.)

5 Demonstratives with the deictic particle *í*

The deictic particle *í* followed by a demonstrative can qualify a noun or, combined with the article alone, can be used as a substantive. The former type is discussed in GOI (§ 475.2), where the examples are punctuated *in fer hí-siu*, *in fer hí-sin*, etc., and the latter in GOI (§ 476), with the punctuation *int-í-siu*, *ind-í-siu*, *an-í-siu*, etc. An immediate problem with this interpretation of the demonstratives as enclitic is why the form for ‘this’ should be *-siu*, when the enclitic forms otherwise are *-so*, *-sa*, *-se*, *-seo* and *-sea*. In actual fact, there is enough metrical evidence to confirm that both *í* and *sin* are stressed in this combination. If the word for ‘that’ is stressed, so also must the word for ‘this’, and accordingly the spelling *siu* is to be read with a long diphthong, viz. *síu*, the (independent) dative singular form of *sé*, *só*.

A metrical example which confirms that *í* is a stressed word is:

- (70) *In chroch hí as-mbeirid-si*

nos rega int í
 PV-3SG.FEM · go_{3SG.FUT} the_{NOM.SG.MASC} one
doda-roächt do ráith cháich
do thaithchreic cach bí.

‘That cross you speak of, he will suffer it who has come to it for the sake of all to redeem every living creature.’ (IrGospThomas verse 39)

I have one instance from an Old Irish text, and two from Middle Irish texts (the first of these is early Middle Irish), where its position at the end of a line and rhyme confirm that *sin* following *í* is a separate stressed word:

- (71) *bed Ísu ainm ind í sin,*

COP_{3SG.IMPV} Jesus name_{NOM} the_{GEN.SG.MASC} one that_{DAT.SG}
don domun bid sláiní^{cith}.

‘Let Jesus be his name, he will be the saviour of the world.’ (Blathm. verse 155)

- (72) *abuir fri Maol a n-í sin.*

speak_{2SG.IMPV} to Máel_{ACC} the_{ACC.SG.NEUT} ^{NAS}one that_{DAT.SG}
aoghriar ó Aodh a fhír

‘Tell that to Máel, [he will have] all he wishes for from Áed, o man.’ (Byrne 1908: 70.14; author’s trans.)⁴²

⁴² With full rhyme (*deibide nguillbnech*) between *sin* and *fhír*.

- (73) *Airigis Tadc a nn-ī sin*
 observe_{3SG.PRET} Tadc the_{ACC.SG.NEUT} ^{NAS}one that_{DAT.SG}
eatha ūad co Mag Fēmin
cosin scēl-sin a Leath Chuind
co sīl nAililla nŪlaim

‘Tadc observed that; messengers were sent by him to Mag Fēmin, with that story from Conn’s Half to the descendants of Ailill Ūlam.’ (RIA, MS 23 P 2 [Book of Lecan] folio 222^{ra}10; author’s trans.)⁴³

6 Middle Irish analytic forms of the verb

In a discussion of the rise of the use of independent pronouns to mark both the subject and the object of verbs in Middle Irish, and the origin of the pairs *sé/é*, *sí/í*, etc., in the third person forms, where Old Irish had only one form (*é*, *sí*, etc.), Greene (1958: 111) remarked: “Probably the forms *ol sé*, *ol sí* (which certainly had fully stressed pronouns by this time, whatever the situation may have been in Old Irish) also contributed to the new development; it was certainly they which determined that the *s*- forms of the third person pronouns should be used as subjects immediately following active verbs.”⁴⁴

In *ol sé*, Middle Irish *ar sé* ‘inquit’, the *sé* most likely was historically the demonstrative, as Quin (1960) argued, although following the then current understanding of the form in question as *se*, with a short vowel. Nevertheless, by the Middle Irish period it had been assimilated to the personal pronoun, as can be seen from the following two lines in *Saltair na Rann*, where *sé* is used to mark direct speech by Adam, but when direct speech by Eve is reported, *sí* is used:⁴⁵

- (74) *ar sé, ar Ādam, fria dagmnāi*
 says he_{NOM} says Adam_{NOM} to-his good.wife_{ACC}
 ‘said he, said Adam, to his good wife’ (SR line 1306; author’s trans.)

- (75) *ar sī, ar Eua fri Ādam*
 says she_{NOM} says Eve_{NOM} to Adam_{ACC}
 ‘said she, said Eve, to Adam’ (SR line 1942; author’s trans.)

⁴³ From a poem in the account of the battle of Crinna.

⁴⁴ See also Roma (2000b).

⁴⁵ Cf. Mac Cana (1984).

Some years ago, I showed that the form of the stressed demonstrative pronoun is in fact *sé*, with a long vowel, and suggested that this Old Irish word had some role to play in the development of the homonymous independent pronoun *sé* ‘he’ beside *é* in Middle Irish (Breatnach 2003: 140). Furthermore, the gradual disappearance of *sé* as a demonstrative in Middle Irish may well indicate a shift in function.⁴⁶ Interestingly, there are quite a few instances in Middle Irish texts of ambiguity in the case of *sé*, that is, where it is not entirely certain whether we have to do with the demonstrative pronoun or with the third singular masculine pronoun.

Given that the development of the pairs *sé/é*, *sí/i*, etc. must have taken some time, it is more likely that the first four examples below, taken from texts belonging to the late Old Irish /early Middle Irish period, are of the demonstrative pronoun, although, at the same time, it is not difficult to see them as equivalent to the pronoun *é*.

- (76) *Ruire ēchtach Eassa Rūaidh,*
immo tteccraitís mórslúaigh,

ass-ib *digh* *mbáis* *bāeghlach* *sé,*
PV-drink_{3SG.PRET} drink_{ACC} NAS death_{GEN} dangerous_{NOM.SG.NEUT} **this**_{NOM}
īar ccrādh uí Iese.

‘The great-deeded chieftain of Eas-Ruaidh, about whom great hosts used to assemble, he took a lethiferous drink dangerous truly, after persecuting the descendant of Jesse (i.e. Christ).’ (O’Donovan 1856: s.a. 899)⁴⁷

- (77) *Ní* *sé* *sním* *fil* *forn*
NEG-COP_{3SG.PRES} **this**_{NOM} trouble_{NOM} be_{3SG.PRES.REL} upon_{1PL}

‘This is not what distresses us.’ (Mulchrone 1939: line 116, Stokes 1887: 11 [Vita Tripartita])

- (78) *7 ro mbaitsi Pátraic oc Sangul .i. sain aingel⁴⁸ dodechoid día acallaim-sium*
a llá sin

7 *ni* *sé* *Uictor*
and NEG-COP_{3SG.PRES} **this**_{NOM} Victor_{NOM}

⁴⁶ Examples of *co sé* are occasionally found in Middle Irish and Classical Modern Irish (*go sé*); see Breatnach (2003: 138).

⁴⁷ With slightly altered punctuation and word-division, and the addition of macrons over long vowels. In the text *uí Iese* (leg. *uí Iēse*) is glossed *.i. Criost*.

⁴⁸ This serves, of course, as an etymology of the place-name *Sangul*.

‘And Patrick baptised him at Sangal; that is a different angel went to converse with him on that day, and it is not Victor.’ (Mulchrone 1939: line 2417, Stokes 1887: 207 [*Vita Tripartita*])

- (79) *Trí coícait lāech . . .*

ba sé lucht línab dindgna
 COP_{3SG.PRET} **this**_{NOM} content_{NOM} number_{DAT.PL} fortress_{GEN.PL}
cach imda de suidib

‘Thrice fifty heroes . . . that was the tale, according to the counts of fortresses, in every chamber of the number.’ (LL lines 3565–8; trans. MD 1: 33)⁴⁹

- (80) *Secht cubait . . .*

ba sé tomus in tellaig.
 COP_{3SG.PRET} **this**_{NOM} measure_{NOM} the_{GEN.SG.NEUT} hearth_{GEN}

‘Seven cubits . . . that was the measure of the hearth’, (LL lines 3573–3576; trans. MD 1: 32–33, lines 53–56)

In examples from later Middle Irish texts, *sé* could be taken as the pronoun, used in positions where *é* subsequently came to be used after the distribution of *sé* and *é* was regularised, although some of those below could just as well be read as demonstratives:⁵⁰

- (81) *ba sé iath con-atthetar*

COP_{3SG.PRET} **this**_{NOM} land_{NOM} PV·ask_{AUG.3PL.PRET}

‘that was the land they asked for’, (LL line 19708; trans. MD 3: 441)⁵¹

- (82) *ar cipé tí bid sē fot a sāeguil*

for whoever come_{3SG.PRES.SUBJ} COP_{3SG.FUT} **this**_{NOM} length_{NOM} his_{LEN} life_{GEN}

‘for whoever so comes, that will be the length of his life’, (O’Rahilly 1967: 180y-z [LL line 9081 (*Táin Bó Cúailnge*)])

⁴⁹ This and the following example are from the poem *Domun duthain a lainde*, which although edited by Gwynn (MD 1: 28–37) as the fourth poem on Tara, is not part of the *Dindsenchas* proper in LL; the language is earlier than that of the *Dindsenchas* as a whole, either late Old Irish or early Middle Irish.

⁵⁰ For the forms with and without *s-*, the latter normally being used where the pronoun is the subject of the copula or a passive verb, and deviations from the norm, see Breatnach (1994a: 274).

⁵¹ Note that Gwynn reads the variant, *ba hed iath conaitthetar* (MD 3: 440), with the third person neuter pronoun.

- (83) *Cocholl Manc[h]in, cid mait sē*
 cowl_{NOM} Manchín_{GEN} however-COP_{3SG.PRES} good **this**_{NOM}
 ‘The cowl of Manchín, however good this is.’ (Meyer 1892: 129.1; author’s trans.)⁵²

- (84) *Ro cūrad ro sedlad sē.*
 AUG·chastise_{3SG.PRET.PASS} AUG·maim_{3SG.PRET.PASS} **he**_{NOM}
ro dedlad rā dóenmige
 ‘He was chastised, he was maimed, he was parted from his misery.’
 (LL line 25708; trans. MD 3: 69)

- (85) *Cāelchéis diaro sernud sē*
 Cáelchéis_{NOM} when-AUG·dispose_{3SG.PRET.PASS} **he**_{NOM}
 ‘When Caelcheis was driven abroad’ (LL line 30203; trans. MD 3: 439)⁵³

I finish this collection with two examples of *sé* as subject, where not only is it separated from its verb (and thus *é* might be expected), but also the translation ‘this’ is more appropriate than ‘it’:

- (86) *Dīa lod d’iarair mo leigis*
īar mblīadain rūin ro gabus
rom chuir hi seirg seimne sé
 AUG-1SG·^{LEN}put_{3SG.PRET} in wasting_{ACC} ***_{GEN.SG} **this**_{NOM}
hīm-meirbe ocus hīm-mignē.
 ‘When I went to seek my cure, after a year, I had kept a secret, which had thrown me into a wasting, into feebleness and into an evil state.’ (Meyer 1903: 48, 52 § 6)

- (87) *conos tuc i sūanbās sē*
 so.that-3PL·bring_{3SG.PRET} in sleep.death_{ACC} this_{NOM}
cēol ro chachain Craiphtine
 ‘so that this brought them into a death-sleep, the music which Craiphtine played’
 (Ó Cuív 1966: 174)

⁵² The fifth line of a six-line verse in the version of *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* in Trinity College Dublin Manuscript H 3. 18; here *sē* makes end-rhyme with *dē* and *nglé*.

⁵³ Note that Gwynn reads the variant *sí* (MD 3: 438.13).

In conclusion, the simplest way to account for these examples as a whole is to take them as exemplifying *sé* ‘this’ in the course of a gradual shift from demonstrative pronoun to a personal pronoun in complementary distribution with *é*.⁵⁴ Only in some cases, such as when *sé* is combined with *sin*, as in *Ba sé sin búar Flidais* (LU line 1632), ‘That was the cattle of Flidais’, is it clear that *sé* is the pronoun and not the demonstrative.⁵⁵ Similarly, we cannot be absolutely certain of the existence of analytic forms of the verb until we find first and second person pronouns used as the subject of a verb, and in the case of the third person, a plural pronoun, a metrically confirmed stressed feminine singular *sí*, or a masculine singular *hé* used as the subject. All attestations of such forms are in the late 12th-century Book of Leinster.⁵⁶

While this paper is by no means intended to be a comprehensive account of the demonstratives in Old and Middle Irish, I hope to have gone some way towards elucidating the phonology and range of use of *sé/só* and *sin*, and the development of the independent pronoun and the analytic forms of the verb in Middle Irish, as well as providing possible dating criteria for texts. I will end by stressing that in all such work it is essential to use all the means available, especially metrics, to determine Old and Middle Irish forms, and not simply to assume that what holds for Modern Irish also held for the earlier period.

54 This complementary distribution of two forms of separate origin, which differ only in the presence or absence of initial *s*-, will have formed the basis for the creation of the other pairs of forms of the independent pronoun, first in the third person forms, viz. *sí/í*, *sed/ed*, and *siat/iat*, and eventually in the first and second person plural forms, viz. *sinn/inn*, *sib/ib*, for which see Breatnach (1994a: 274, 429).

55 That these are two separate stressed words is shown by the rhyme in *sē sein* with *nimib* in SR lines 195–196.

56 See Breatnach (1994a: 272–273 § 10.19) and Breatnach (2015: 72–73).

